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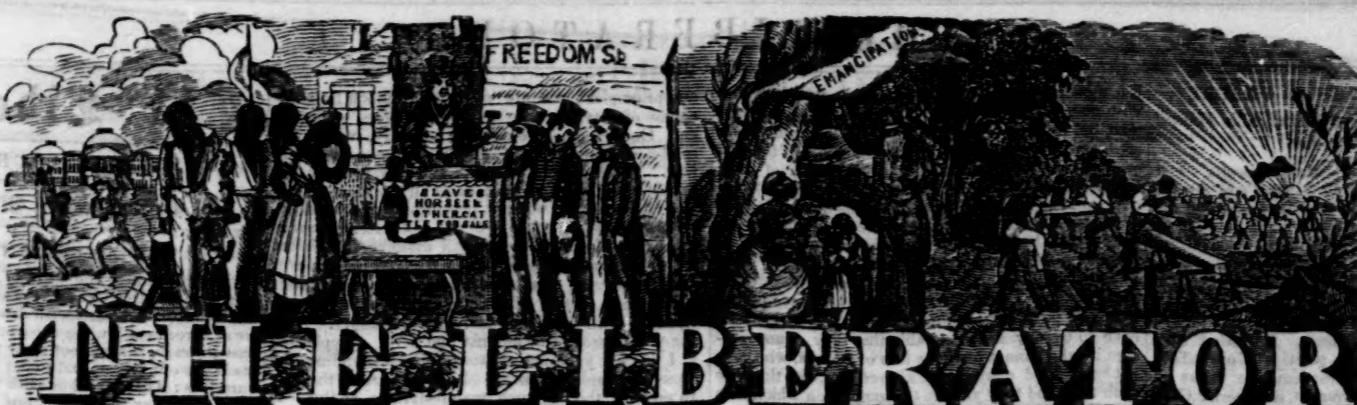
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for the financial economy of the paper—not for any of
its acts.]

W. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

VOL. XX. NO. 10.



NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION A COVENANT WITH DEATH
AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.

"Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their admission into the Union, three special provisions to secure the property of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity for twenty years of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the obligation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons. . . . Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is, to establish an artificial majority in the slaveholding states, the free states of the free people, in the American Congress, and hence to give the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION, AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, MARCH 8, 1850.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, PRINTERS.

WHOLE NO. 1000.

Refuge of Oppression.

From the Journal of Commerce.

THE DOCTRINE OF INSTRUCTIONS.

The people of this city are beginning to look with

desire upon the course of the Legislature, for

desiring our Slaveholders and requesting our Rep-

resentatives in Congress to vote for the Wilmot Pro-

viso, in so doing, the Legislature have transcended

the bounds of propriety. They were elected for no

such purpose, but to attend to the proper business of

the State. We elected our Congressmen to attend to

our national concerns, and selected men for the

purpose we supposed them competent for their

service. We did not wish them to usurp the powers

of the State Legislature, neither did we wish the

Legislature to usurp the authority over our Congressmen,

by a division of powers and duties, we deemed our

interests safer than if they were all concentrated in

the same hands. Besides, how can the Legislature,

independent hereafter, determine how our Congressmen

were or a different state of circumstances, ought

to act? Of the absurdity of such instructions, we

have a practical illustration at this moment. When

we have a practical illustration at this moment. When

the Legislature of New York first instructed their

Senators to request their Representatives to vote

for the Wilmot Proviso, they imposed, and we ratified

with all their old ardor for the established Democratic

creed; and the young and gallant men who

had embarked in the same cause—the cause of the

country and right—were present in force. But one

animating the compact and living mass, and one

outburst of approval and applause greeted the

resolutions and addresses.

The resolutions are a plain, straight-forward de-

claration of sentiments, such as we like to see. They

denounce, in terms of just rebuke, the Wilmot Proviso,

the faithlessness of the North in respect to fugitive

slaves, and the proposed abolition of slavery by Con-

gress in the District of Columbia.—*Ibid.*

spirit of the meeting was excellent, and full of en-

thusiasm. Several thousand persons were present,

and a strong and united feeling pervaded the whole

assembly. Says the Pennsylvanian,—a paper which

we name with respect and gratitude for the moral

firmness which it has manifested in breasting the

waves of infatuation and folly which has rolled over

the country in connection with the Wilmot Proviso

and its appendages.—

It was, in truth, a monster meeting. The true

men and tried came from all parts of this great city,

and county; and the hall, capable of holding over

five thousand persons, was filled to suffocation before

the hour of organization, masses finding it im-

possible to obtain entrance. The enthusiasm was

irrepressible, from the beginning to the end. The

cheers and applause of the masses present were

bursts of overpowering acclamation. And when a

small knot of Free Soilers attempted to interrupt

the meeting, the rebuke of the Democracy was

stern and emphatic. There is no reservation in the

opinions proclaimed in the masterly and comprehensive

resolutions, and the glowing and eloquent sen-

timents of the speakers. All will be found eminent-

ly Pennsylvania and patriotic, and therefore emi-

nently national and American. The old and young of

the Democracy were present—the veterans who

had fought in many a hard battle, and who rallied

with all their old ardor for the established Democratic

creed; and the young and gallant men who

had embarked in the same cause—the cause of the

country and right—were present in force. But one

animating the compact and living mass, and one

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the faithlessness of the North in respect to fugitive

slaves, and the proposed abolition of slavery by Con-

gress in the District of Columbia.—*Ibid.*

MEETING AT CASTLE GARDEN.

A united and powerful demonstration, in this city, at

the present moment, in favor of the Union, and of

reasonable concessions for the sake of the Union,

such as we hope to see at Castle Garden next Mon-

day evening, will be of incalculable advantage in vari-

ous ways. It will encourage the friends of the

Union in other places to utter their real sentiments;

it will show that we are willing to meet them half way, and shake hands over the past; it will fortify our members of Congress in pursuing such a cause as, under the exigencies of the case, they may think the public interests demand. A serious, and perhaps the only obstacle at this moment in the way of an adjustment of the slavery question by Congress, is the fact, that nearly every Senator from the non-slaveholding States has been instructed, and nearly every Representative requested, by the Legislatures of their respective States, and by District Conventions, to support the Wilmot Proviso. Thus the free exercise of their judgments is impeded and overruled.—*Ibid.*

PATRIOTISM OF THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN. The

Board met at 5 o'clock yesterday afternoon, and af-

ter two hours of diligent labor, a proposition was

made to take up the usual recess of forty minutes.

Alderman Slaw offered an amendment, that the

Board not only take a recess, but that out of sym-

pathy with the great patriotic meeting at Castle Gar-

den, it adjourn. He was for the preservation of the

Union, and he was anxious that the

Board officially should express their feelings by sus-

pending their labors. Some desultory conversation

followed, when the proposition was unanimously ad-

opted, and an immediate adjournment took place.—*Ibid.*

We yesterday, for the first time, read Mr. Clay's speech through, and have sullenly enjoyed a richer repeat. Every resolution, and nearly every senti-

ment, we are prepared to endorse, heart and hand.

We awoke from the period with a more exalted opin-

ion of Mr. Clay's talents, and especially of his dis-

interested patriotism, than we ever had before.

If the South will accept his compromise, the North

should rejoice in it.

It is a fact, that nearly every

member of the Board of Aldermen, and nearly every

member of the Legislature, and nearly every mem-

ber of the Board of Education, and nearly every mem-

ber of the Board of Health, and nearly every mem-

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on the American soil as freedom; that we are all bound as American citizens to cherish it with the same care that we do liberty; and that at no time can we ask the balance to be disturbed by which the upholders of this institution shall be able to exert, at least, an equal power in the legislation of the Land of Freedom.

We do not hesitate to call this a monstrous perversion, both of the original understanding of the parties to the compromises of the Constitution, and of the whole spirit of the instrument. If any compromise with this intent had been made in the outset, we should hold ourselves utterly absolved by the law of God from any regard to it. But it was not. Slavery came into this Union as an acknowledged evil, but a disappearing one. The Constitution strained itself to admit the dying enormity to a temporary shelter; it allowed the expiring sinner a grave in sacred ground. But, lo! housed within the holy temple of liberty, the loathsome monster revives, acquires fresh strength, asserts a permanent right to the habitation, and finally proposes with violence, and the air of insulted innocence, to divide the premises! There never was a more insolent claim preferred. Nothing can justify it, but the servile spirit in which the successive steps of extortion have been submitted to. And now, at last, the hour has come, when we are to adopt or reject the degrading principle that slavery and freedom are twin children of the Constitution, joined in a Siamese Union, one and inseparable; that our fathers fought to build up a prison-house and a palace, as the appropriate wings of the Temple of Liberty; that in the flag they rallied under the stars were for the whites, and the stripes for the blacks; that the North is to have leave for a virtuous prosperity, only by maintaining the South in a prosperity dependent on oppression and crime!

Do we talk of compromise at a time like this?

Compromise what? What is there left to compromise but our consciences, our honor, our humanity, that admit of no compromise? If it were only our rights, our interests, our prejudices that were called on to compromise, we might do it. But it is our sacred honor, our bounden duty, our religious principles, and our final salvation. The South has no equal part in this question. It is only her propensity, her rights, her prejudices, that she proposes, under the most favorable circumstances, to compromise; but for every right she yields, we must yield some moral obligation; for every vice she abandons, we must abandon some principle; for every earthly advantage she compromises, we must compromise some solemn duty. There is no room for compromise where there are only rights on one side, and duties on the other. Interest against conscience—the world against God. We cannot compromise for the extension of slavery. We hold it to be a crime. It does not matter who in the South thinks of it. The North holds it to be a crime, and it has no business to make any compromise with crime.

Mr. Clay's resolutions, with his speech—probably the most favorable exposition of the grounds of compromise that can possibly be made—we hold to be one of the most extraordinary appeals ever yet made to the world. Recognizing the sin of slavery, and denouncing the slave trade, those resolutions call upon us to render an active support to the institution, and to permit its extension at the will of the territories. The North cannot, without a lie in its mouth, unite in passing any such resolutions. Our representatives know perfectly, that any resolution promising on the part of the North to return fugitive slaves, is as unmeaning, futile, and false, as any language that can be framed. The North will not return the slave—it will do it less and less. The promise to do it, is perjury.

Let the consequences be what they may, there must be no concessions to the spirit of slavery. Three millions of our fellow-creatures adjure us not to consent to load them with new chains, and indefinitely postpone the period of their emancipation. We have no right to allow the South to plunge itself in hopeless sin and ruin. We are responsible for this crime if we permit less than half a million of slaveholders to convert our Government into a tyranny, and call down upon it the curse of the Eternal Justice. Now is the time to stand firmly upon the right. The wrong is weak; it cannot stand up against the right when that is true to itself. It will be the North that betrays the Union, if it falls. We have the power; the responsibility rests with us, and our whole duty lies at this time in the principle—No compromise.

From the Boston Christian Register.

NO COMPROMISE.

There can be no doubt as to the principles by which all who look to the permanent well-being of the country should be guided. Slavery, as an outrage upon the dearest and most sacred rights of man, must, on no account and under no pressure of circumstances, be permitted through our inaction or our vote to find its way into territories now free. Any representative from a free State, who knowingly consents to the further extension of this terrible institution, or who under whatever pretence fails to exercise all his influence and his power against it, or who in any way would compromise his principles on this subject, or purposely mix it up with other subjects in such a way as to blind the eyes of the people, should be held up as a public culprit, never more to be trusted with any office of high public responsibility. We want no blustering professors. The occasion is too solemn for them. There should be nothing to irritate the already too sensitive feelings of the South. But when a decision is to be made as to the further extension of slavery, our representatives are to be moved from their position by no personal motives, and no threats of dissolution. For the sake of the Union, we are ready to give up every measure of mere expediency; but we cannot even for the sake of the Union vote to sanction a great moral wrong.

From the Cleveland True Democrat.

RECAPTURE OF FUGITIVE SLAVES.

Let one thing be understood. There is a spirit in every people above their laws and constitution and masters. It is their soul. You may batter them down, and break them up; scatter their property and their power; conquer them; hold them as vassals; but that soul, he unshamed—that spirit he alive, will rise up, and be free. Of all that men or nations have that valuable, this is most so. It is a wealth which never perishes. It is a life which never dies. And the law-giver who would by word, or thought, or act, taint that soul—palsy or pollute it—stabs the very source of all its greatness and goodness. Such would be the effect of this proposition, if adopted and submitted to. We may endure slavery in Kentucky, because it is not ours. But if Ohio is to be made capture ground, her jails are to be filled with slaves, and her people fined and harassed when they dare bid God speed to the lone straggler panting for freedom—if they could tamely submit to such wrong and insolence and heartless oppression—then would their spirit be fit for any degradation which could blur or blot the name of man. No. We have had enough to bear on this special point. We have had now more than we can submit to under the law. Let no madmen add to its weight a feather, else will our people rebel against, and spurn the mocking and monstrous wrong, in all its parts.

But Mr. Clay's resolutions are rejected by the South, pro-slavery as they are! It refused to consider them. Ere he had finished his explanations, Southern Senators dashed upon him, and denounced them. They rejected his mediation with taunting scorn! *'Now what will the North do? Compromise? If it does, it will merit the contempt of every brave man on the face of the earth. Listen to a compromise? If it does, the scorn of the world should blister it with very shame. All that it can do in safety, or honor, is to stand upon PRINCIPLE; and to the threatening demand of the entire South, giving its most slave States and slave territories—answer, as it is felt and meant what it said, and to it say—NO MORE SLAVE STATES—NO SLAVE TERRITORY! No other alternative is left.'*

The olive branch borne by one of their own class has been snatched to pieces in the very face of the North, and torn in the dust, and we cannot—and dare not, it seems to us, stir an inch, from this plain platform of Humanity, Right, Duty.

SLAVERY IN VIRGINIA.—The Legislature of Virginia has been engaged in discussing a bill providing for a Convention to reform the Constitution, but the question of slavery has proved a great stumbling block. The western portion of the State contains but few slaves, who are concentrated mainly in the planting counties of the eastern section. In the apportionment of representatives, the East demands a majority; and after haggling a great deal, the bill was ordered to be engrossed, last week, so as to give the latter section 17 majority in a convention of 135 members. Whether it will be passed finally, after this fashion, cannot be told, as the West is making hard battle upon it.

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN G. PALFREY. Delivered at the Free Soil Convention held in Faneuil Hall, Feb. 27, 1850.

Fellow-Citizens: Men of Massachusetts, and friends of freedom everywhere! I thank you for the honor which you have done me in assigning me this place. You might have found many more capable and more suitable to preside over this Convention. But I trust that you would find none more desirous of promoting this cause. (Applause.) We have assembled during a critical position of public affairs. We have often heard of aises in this nation—it has become a hackneyed term. But what man doubts that at this moment the position of our affairs is critical; that the cause of freedom, the cause of right, the cause of good government, is in peril? Gentlemen, the last four years have been fertile in great events. It is a little more than four years since the measure of the re-annexation of Texas was consummated: a measure projected ostensibly and avowedly for the perpetuation and increase of the slave power in the nation.

History has strange contrasts. On the 22d day of December, 1860, the martyrs of liberty landed on the Rock of Plymouth. On the 22d day of December, 1845, just two centuries and a quarter from the landing of our forefathers, the plan was adopted by the Senate of the United States which annexed Texas, and helped to crush the hopes of freedom.

Well, gentlemen, if I had more time, I should go into that question, for it would take too long a period to exhaust it. I shall not consider at all the results, very distant I hope, which must follow such a measure if carried into effect, according to the threats presented. I apprehend that they proceed from two different classes of men.

One part who threaten a dissolution of the Union, I believe they have no more hope of doing such a thing than you or I. Hope? No! They fear it. (Loud cheers.) Why do they use those threats?—Because they think they know the character of the North. They think that all the men of the North are as flexible as they know some to be. (Senators.)—Their experience has emboldened them. They have carried their questions over and over again by threats and dictation and overbearing language; and they have the very poor compliment of thinking that we have not stood up back bone to some of those men we have sent to Congress. (Applause.) They think if they threaten hard enough, that they may carry their threats.

They know we love the Union. Whence came the voice that spoke this Union into being? Where was the blood shed that moistened the first hard-fought field of Independence? Nowhere but within three miles from where we stand now. What State has done more than Massachusetts for ornamenting and giving it honor in the eyes of all foreign nations? They know our love for the Union, and they think that this love will make us yield, rather than allow them to carry their threats of dissolution into execution.

I am afraid I must go farther and say that they have the concurrence of Northern Representatives, I do not mean Massachusetts Representatives. I have not a word to say of them; we will locate them in New York or Pennsylvania, or any where else.

There are Northern men who say we ought to down this 'humble' of a proposal, as the Senate did. But it won't do; you must frighten our constituents a little more, and then they may have us and welcome, (applause,) and almost at your own pleasure:

Resolved, That the committee on territories be instructed to report to the House with a little delay as possible, a bill or bills, providing a Territorial Government or Governments for all that part of the territory ceded to the United States by Mexico, by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, lying eastward of the Sierra Nevada mountains, and prohibiting slavery therin.

Mr. Stephens of Georgia, moved that the resolution be laid on the table, which, gentlemen, as most of you probably know, in the United States House of Representatives, is disposing of the measure finally, inasmuch as it requires a vote of two-thirds to take it up again. Mr. Stephens moved that it lay on the table. It failed by a majority against it of twenty-five. Very well, for the present.

On Monday, February 5th, the States having been called upon for resolutions, Mr. Root introduced his resolution again with a slight modification. How should the vote then? The vote was year 105, nays 79. So, by a majority of 26, the House laid upon the table a resolution which five weeks before it had refused to lay on the table by a majority of twenty-five. It will be observed that the vote was small; only 184 out of 230 members casting their votes.

Mr. Giddings, always prompt and watchful—(Cheers)—Mr. Giddings proposed the following resolution:—

Resolved, That we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights to life and liberty; and that Governments are constituted among men to secure these rights.

Words from the Declaration of Independence itself:—

Resolved, That in constituting Governments in any Territory of the United States, it is the duty of Congress to secure the people thereof, of whatsoever complexion, in the enjoyment of the rights aforesaid.

Could there be two sides to that question? It would seem not. A motion was made to lay that also on the table. And this affirmation of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, with another proposition to act upon them practically, was laid upon the table. After such votes, can anything surprise us? But that is not our last news.

Last Monday week, Mr. Doty, of Wisconsin, moved to instruct the Committee on Territories to propose a bill adding the State of Colorado to the Union. What became of that? It was contested before noon to midnight. The yeas and nays were called upon frivously, questions, such as deciding whether one man or another shall vote, I know not how many times, perhaps twenty or thirty; thirty-one times, a friend at the left tells me. At length midnight had passed, and one of the members raised the question whether the resolution had not passed. And the Speaker ruled that it had passed. It comes only once a fortnight. It will come again next Monday; unless previously disposed of, as I see it is demanded by Mr. Senator Foote, who it appears has declared that it remains to be disposed of till Monday next, circumstances may occur which will lead to scenes of a most serious character. (Laughter.)

I wish that was the last news from Washington. But there is a subject upon which I wish to touch bearing, I do not say timidly, for timidity is not the practice of Faneuil Hall. Within a day or two past, the telegraph has informed us that the distinguished Senator from this State has struck out a compromise. Well, gentlemen, if I had more time, I should go into that detail. They come together. It is very easy to talk at a distance about dividing the Union. How great the pride of this nation is in the measure? Where shall the line be drawn? Of course, 'Main & Dixon's line,' is the reply. 'No!' says Maryland, 'we will not agree to that.' 'No!' says Virginia, 'we will not consent to that.' 'No!' says Kentucky, 'we will not consent to that.' Nor does Tennessee wish to be the border State. 'We can have,' say they, 'a hundred of our negroes every night trooping over these imaginary lines to find an asylum in the free confederacy? No, we will not agree to it. You must get some other frontier line.'

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MR. HILLARD'S REPORT--THE UNION AND THE CONSTITUTION.

Two Reports on Slavery, with special reference to the Wilmot Proviso, from the Joint Special Committee to whom the whole subject was referred, have been presented to the Massachusetts Legislature, with accompanying resolutions--the majority from the pen of George S. Hillard, (Free Soiler.) The former we published entire in our last number, but had only room to say of it that it is "feeble in its tone, and tame in its reasoning." We now propose to examine it somewhat critically; and if we fail to sustain the opinion that we have already expressed in regard to it, our readers are sufficiently intelligent to convict us of injustice. From their judgment, in so plain a case, we cannot shrink.

Mr. Hillard is a novice in politics, though a Senator from Suffolk; he owes his promotion, (2) therefore, not to any long-tried services as a party fugitive or hack, but, undoubtedly, the particular service he rendered the Taylor Whig party, last fall, at their State Convention in Springfield, in repudiating the Free Soil party.* He is a gentleman very highly esteemed for his amiable qualities, a good scholar, and eminent of literary taste and attainments; and also a member of the legal profession. We do not suspect him of any political ambition, though he will be careful not to prejudicial his future preferment by saying or doing what regrettably to the wishes of the party which he identified. It is not, however, as a politician, but as a moralist, that he challenges criticism, in connection with his Report; for the subject discussed in that Report overrides all party considerations, and includes all that is precious in humanity, pure in morality, and sacred in religion. It relates to what is absolutely just, and what is morally wrong--to man occupying his true position as one created a little lower than the angels,* on the one hand, or ranking with the brutes that perish, on the other.

Of the innumerable evils to which the inhuman system of slavery has given birth, one of the least is not the mortal confusion which it has wrought in minds otherwise acute and comprehensive. Of eloquence, statesmen and politicians, scarcely one in a thousand sides himself coherently on the subject of American slavery. We emphasize American, because there is no such insanity exhibited when foreign tyranny is the topic of discussion or the theme of declamation: then all is clear as sunlight, and palpable as a mountain. But as soon as the great, overshadowing sin of the world is summoned to judgment, and in which we dwell--the wise and prudent, the time-serving and aspiring, all who dread the cross, but have no objection to wearing the crown, are utterly incapacitated to perceive its enormity, except in the abstract, (where it is incomprehensible,) though they sometimes acknowledge it to be an evil, the existence of which is to be regretted. But, on peril of being thought fanatical, or charged with having a devil, there must be no imputation of guilt cast in any direction! They who are the most deeply involved in the sin--who are "rolling it as a sweet morsel under their tongues"--and who are ready to sacrifice every thing holy and true to perpetuate and extend it--must not be accused of any criminal intent or practice, but only alluded to as very unfortunate, and ready to be pitied! Thus a judicial blindness infects all classes--the mighty, man, and the man, the wife, the judge, and the prophet, and the prudent, and the ancient, the captain of fifty, and the honorable man, the counsellor, and the cunning artificer, and the eloquent orator.'

In confirmation of what we have written, take the following parallel extract from the Report of Mr. Hillard, now under consideration--parallel only to their typographical arrangement, but utterly conflicting to their spirit and doctrine. It is not marvelous that the same head and the same heart should in the same hour give birth and sanction to such monstrous absurdities:

Then on this!
MORAL INTEGRITY.

"It is well known that the Constitution of the United States embodies certain compromises on the subject of slavery. It was believed by the eminent men who shared in its formation, and urged its acceptance upon the people, that such a compromise, even if it were adopted, would greatly avert our thoughts. But, in that disastrous event, we should have of least the consolation of a conscience void of offence. But in giving our assent to the extension of slavery into regions now free, we should feel that we were guilty of a sin before God and before man, for which there is no compensation, nor equivalent. The stain of self-reproach would make our national prosperity of little value. The consciousness of wrong doing would pollute the paths of life, and impair the flavor of our daily bread. If we are called on to do wrong, we prefer to suffer wrong."--With those whose lives are governed by moral and religious ideas, slavery is believed to be a curse, which arrests all moral, religious and intellectual growth in the enslaved, and is in no wise favorable to such growth in the dominant race. When, therefore, we are asked to consent to the extension of slavery into regions which are now free, we are asked to do that which is abominable and abominable. Reflecting that God is just, we should tremble for ourselves and our children, if we aided in the extension of an institution which we believed to be opposed to all the attributes of God. The temporal misfortunes, which a firm adherence to duty may bring upon us, we shall endure to bear with patience and submission with which it is our duty to receive the chastisement of divine Providence. But we will not have temporal blessings with the price of what we deem wrong-doing. We will endure the shadow of sorrow, but not the stain of guilt."

However, in looking at this subject, does not see at once the utter incongruity existing between these extracts, whether considered logically or morally, thus indeed be without vision, or, at best, only able to see men as trees walking? Let us briefly examine:

Merciful God! Father of the whole human race, who art no respecter of persons! are such deserving of reverence? Who then, of all rebels against thee and conspirators against the liberty of thy children, deserve to be censured? Yet it is with express reference to their treachery to the slave population, that reverence is expressed for them in the Report; and of the hideous work of their hand it is declared: "We value and cherish the instrument itself, and the Union which it has maintained, and WE MEAN TO ABIDE BY BOTH!" Yes, the blood of the slaves be on us and on our children! We are as ready to shed it as our fathers were, as ready to sacrifice at wholesale robbery, pollution and murder! They were eminent men--so we are, even senators and representatives--and we hold it to be no reproach, but an honor, to abide by their stipulations, though we thus deny God and crush beneath our feet

mands of God, then they are of tremendous import and awful consequence. They were four in number, and every one of them inhuman and immoral to the last degree!*

1. The denial to the slaves of a direct representation in Congress, in their own behalf; but their recognition as "three-fifths" of men, in order to increase the political power of their merciless oppressors: a bounty being thus offered upon their multiplication, and their liberation under such a compact rendered a hopeless event. In the language of John Quincy Adams--"it is in the compass of human imagination to devise a more perfect exemplification of the art of committing the lamb to the tender custody of the wolf?"--The representative is thus constituted, not the friend, agent and trustee of the person whom he represents, but the most inveterate of his foes.* It was one of the curses from that Pandora's box, adjusted at the time, as usual, by a compromise, the whole advantage of which inured to the benefit of the South, and to aggravate the burdens of the North. It makes the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery the vital and animating spirit of the National Government."

2. The liberty given to the slave-hunters to follow and recover their slaves in any part of the country--a liberty never conceded before--"an engagement," again to quote the impressive language of Mr. Adams, "positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai," and forbIDDEN by every dictate of humanity. We might dilate, to any extent, upon its direful cruelty, its utter barbarity, its revolting impurity; but this is unnecessary; and, besides, language is powerless to describe it. For who can enter into the feelings of the slave, as smarting under the lash, and pinning for liberty, he bursts his chains asunder, (or in his limbs,) and seeks safety and freedom in flight--well knowing that bloodhounds will soon be on his track in full cry, and pursuers more merciless than they; ignorant of his course, except as he may learn it from the North star; without food or clothing, and therefore often suffering intensely from cold and hunger; hiding himself in caves or thickets from the cheering light of heaven by day, and venturing forth with a palpitating heart only during the gloomy hours of night; frightened at the rustling of a leaf, alarmed even at the sound of his own footsteps, overcome by thousand apprehensions; with bleeding feet, and weary body, and almost broken heart; composed only as he approaches a human habitation; till after days and weeks of indiscriminate suffering and torture, he finds himself in one of the free States, (falsely so called)--perhaps in the old Bay State, by the side of Bunker Hill monument or under the shadow of Faneuil Hall--when he is discovered, arrested, and carried back to his infatuated "owner," to be subjected to more than inquisitorial tortures, "that others may fear"? Is there any exaggeration in all this? It is only an approximation to the reality--hardly more than what the shadow is to the substance!

The framers of the Constitution are not worthy of reverence, for they were not men of integrity, they were not lovers of liberty for all mankind, their "patriotism" was marked by intense selfishness, they did evil in the sight of the Lord,* they were recreant to their own heaven-appointed principles; and by their unrighteous example, they have cursed their descendants with a grievous curse. While declaring it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty, many of them were slaveholders and slave-breeders, and all of them connived at the traffic in human flesh! They deliberately sacrificed to subserve their own purposes--the rights and liberties of half a million of the people, now multiplied to three millions; and on the necks of this immense mass they basely their "glorious Union," cementing it with the blood of their victims! It is only the righteous who shall be held in everlasting remembrance!

With front of brass and feet of clay,* is declared to be instinct with a divine life, and worthy of universal worship--it becomes an indispensable duty to dispel the illusion, to break the image in pieces, and to expose the criminality of those who fashioned it.

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3. The facility and security given for twenty years to the foreign slave trade, by giving it national dignity and protection, and prohibiting any interference with it until the expiration of that long period;--the star-spangled banner floating at the mast-head of every American slaver, and bidding defiance to all nations. It is true, that accrued traffic terminated its legal existence in 1808, but not because the contract absolutely required (it only permitted) its suppression at that time; and if Congress should see fit again to legalize the traffic, it has the constitutional right to do so. Besides, we are not simply examining particular specifications in the instrument, but also endeavoring to arrive at a just estimate of the humanity, morality and piety--the pretended love of liberty and hatred of oppression--of those who framed the Constitution. Now, the horrors of the African slave trade, though often recited, almost surpass credibility, transcend the powers of the imagination, and deeply debase the soul.

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4. The guaranty of protection given to every slaveholding State, no matter how numerous its slave population, no matter how cruel their treatment, to defend it against domestic insurrection at the expense of the blood and treasure of the whole nation; and rendering any attempts of the slaves to regain their freedom by a "76 process, alike desperate and abortive."

These, then, are some of the features of the Constitution of the United States--hideous, terrifying, blood-stained! With a clear vision, behold this league with the traffickers in slaves and souls of men, and then say whether (in the awfully descriptive language of the prophet) it be not a covenant with death and an agreement with hell.* In the history of human compact, and of infernal conspiracies, (so far as the slaves are concerned,) is there anything to approach it? No--we endorse it all.

We reverence the framers of the Constitution, for their unexampled growth and prosperity, to the world at large.

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The Liberator.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES.

FAIR BRIDGEWATER, Feb. 24, 1850.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

I hear, amid the din of human voices,
A fearful wailing sound;
As if stern anguish at an awful crisis,
Leaping across a bound,
Was sweeping, like a tempest, o'er a sea
Of souls baptized in tears of agony.
I see chained hands imploringly uplifted,
And struggling to be free;
And souls, by God's own hand divinely gifted
With immortality,
Kept from all knowledge of their mighty power,
Save that which suffering teaches every hour.
Human enslaving man! Did th' Immortal,
Who gave the chainless mind,
Mean, men who keep less pure their spirits' portals,
Their brother-men should bind,
Because he gave a darker hue to one,
When to the fallen all he gave his Son?
No—from each newly wakened conscience gushing,
I hear the answer rise;
That fearful sound of wailing millions hushing,
Till like a wave it dies
Upon the shore of Liberty, which ne'er
Will feel the billowy waves of Slavery there.
And, looking onward through the pale dim shrouding,
Covering the future o'er,
I see the Star of Freedom from its clouding,
Rising, to set no more!
When slavery and wrong and strife shall cease,
And on the earth be universal peace.

TO THE SONS OF TOIL

Extract from an admirable Poem on 'The Joys of Toil,' delivered before the Mechanic Apprentice's Library Association of Boston, on the 22d of February, by GEORGE COOLIDGE.

What sounds of wo disturb the ambient air?
What dire portents do the black heavens declare?
What sights, what sounds mysterious, are these
That pall our senses, and our spirits freeze?
Thy fair dominion, O freedom, is assailed!
Lo! treason stalks defiant, sheathed and mailed.
A race of slaves pollutes the hallowed soil
Our fathers sanctified with blood and Toil!

Now give, O God, to Woman, woman's tears!
And let the coward bear the coward's fears!
O give to us the spirits worthy men,
And Liberty her champions again!
Ye Sons of Toil! I mighty struggle waits
Your firm, undaunted wills,—and Nation's fates.
Say, shall your country's ergis meet the strand,
Where broad Pacific rolls on golden sand,
The joy of Heaven and Man? or shall it be
The shield of Crime—the strength of Slavery?
Ah! not the syren strains of basstard Peace
May bid, insidious, your efforts cease.
Not all the wealth within these boundless coasts,
And not the bristling front of serried hosts,
May bend the purpose of your iron will,
A bright thy holy mission to fulfil!
Yours is the field of Toil—of Freedom yours—
And the stout heart that triumphs and endures.
In all this land that Heaven to labor gave,
Ye have decreed there shall not breathe a Slave.
To hallowed Labor it shall still be hallowed!
To sacred Freedom it shall still be free!
And God's exalted purpose shall remain,
A faithful trust ye ever will sustain!

On with exultant step we hasten to tread
The field of Toil, the smiling heavens o'erspread,
Joy in our veins, delight in all our frame,
And glowing in our hearts Devotion's flame.
Lo! where, far-stretching in the realms of light,
The boundless scene invites the straining sight.
Eternal principles inherent there,
The presence of Almighty Power declare.
There, on the field of Toil, the door of States,
In dread suspense, the seal of labor waits!
There mighty men their mighty actions trace;
There rest the archives of the human race;
There Peace abides; there Nature's constant life
With all-destroying Time holds ceaseless strife.
There Health and Vigor ever bless mankind,
There Happiness delights the human mind;
There Liberty and Bliss forever dwell,
There man bath joys no mortal tongue can tell.

Lo! the bright moments stand in long array,
To bear the records of our deeds away;
Lo! as we will the burden shall depart,
To the Recording Angel's flaming chart;
Lo! as we will we shall our sins pursue,
Our lives with glory, or with shame, endue.
Let others choose their birthright to depile;
Forevermore be ours the JOYS OF TOIL!

From the Practical Christian.

THE AMERICAN SLAVE'S ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN EAGLE.

Tune—Carrie Dove.

Fly away from thy native hills, proud bird,
Thou emblem of the free;

For a deep drawn sigh in the land is heard,

It crosses the waves of the sea;

Tis the sigh of the slave who pines in his chain,

As he bends 'neath the despot's yoke,

Where the scorn, and the lash, and the tyrant's rein,

Have his spirit subdued and broke.

As he goes to his toil at early morn,

The bloodhounds are watching his track,

And the pay for his work when his labor is done,

Can be known by the scars on his back!

His wife, she is torn from his bosom away,

No more shall her form greet his sight,

And helpless, he no word can say

'Gainst this power that tramples on right.

The children that played round his cabin door,

To gladden his heart by their glee,

Are torn from his arms, and he no more

Their cherished forms shall see;

He himself hath no home or abiding place,

Like a beast he is forced by the rod

To the auction-block, oh! deep disgrace,

To be endured by the image of God!

Oh fly from this land, from scenes like these,

'As dark and as drear as the grave.'

Where the songs of the free, as they float on the breeze,

Are drowned by the cry of the slave!

Go to the haughty tyrant's throne;

Leave this, thy native land,

Where the rulers may buy, or sell, or own,

The life of a brother man.

A. C.

SONNET.—BE FREE.

Sprout thou the fear of all that would thee bind
In hopeless servitude, and trust the strength
Which God in love hath given, and then the length
And breadth, the height and depth of thine own mind
Rejoicing thou shalt know. He is a slave,
Who fears to test, and will not brave
The storms of life. For action, not dull rest,
Thou into being were cal'd. It would be best,
Be strong in love. There is no fear in love;
And he, who nothing fears, will onward move
Through all opposing hosts, in God's great power
Confiding. Thus the victory and the song.
THEY SPIRIT SHALL BE FREE. Heaven's noblest dower
Then courage! struggle on! be ever true and strong!

Friends, the distinguished, able lecturers are rare,
and when we have them present to help us, let us put up the wall over against our own house, so that when the lecturer does come, he shall not find, as he too often does, that nothing has been done in his absence, and the weeds have grown so thick and large, that it is necessary to put in the new-ground plough again, in order to loosen the soil.

JONATHAN WALKER.

NOT A RELIGIOUS SUBJECT!

PROVIDENCE, Jan. 12, 1850.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

I should be pleased to give a short account of our anti-slavery meetings in this vicinity to the friends of freedom, through the columns of the Liberator, if in your judgment it is entitled to a reading through that source.

We have had a number of anti-slavery meetings in this town within the last two or three months. First came Lucy Stone, and lectured two evenings, in a most able, eloquent and impressive manner; not sparing in the least the hypocritical piety of the Christian Church, so called, nor the mean, cowardly servility of our political rulers. She even dared to say that women, and even children, ought to think for themselves. But the ladies of this place think no such thing; they think the men should do all the thinking, while they sit in tatters, and immured at home. Our friend Lucy is a strong advocate of the oppressed of every land.

The next meeting we had, our friends Watson and Sanderson lectured here with good success. Henry related his experience while in slavery, and the manner of his escape. The story was well told, and created some sensation in the audience, I hope for good; several acknowledging that they learned some things that they did not know before. Friend Sanderson is a well educated man, and was respectfully listened to.

But the worst trouble of all was, the announcement that Parker Pillsbury was going to give us a lecture. The people said, Give us any body but Parker Pillsbury; we would rather hear the niggers, or any thing. Some said he would not dare to lecture in Joppa Village, for he and Lucy Stone were mobbed here some two years since. But there was a decent number came out to hear him, in spite of all the pro-slavery members of the church, who did what they could to keep people at home. One man, who goes to church every Sunday, did all he could to keep people from going, and even offered money to induce some of those who favored the anti-slavery movement to stay at home. And this man calls himself the strongest abolitionist in town; but we have a great many here as good as he.

In spite, however, of all the powers of darkness, though they did their utmost, our meetings were better attended than the friends expected. The first evening, Mr. Pillsbury told us what the Union had done for us; those who have heard him, know his manner of treating that subject better than I can describe it. The second evening, our lecture was in Joppa Village. He told us that the Bridgewaterans had done more, in one way, than all the rest of the country together, perhaps, for the perpetuation of slavery. His reason for this statement is found in the fact that they supplied the South with gins to clean their cotton; and if it had not been for that invention, (the potent cotton-gin,) slave labor could never have been made profitable. He regretted that they could not be in better business. One man inquired to know if the niggers did not need any brogans. Mr. Pillsbury took that opportunity to state how much more would be required of Northern manufactured articles were the slaves liberated, than there is at present; he said it would bring more real wealth to the country than all the mines in California. Whereupon, one brave General, whose patriotism had been somewhat indicated, said, "I'd no idea the niggers were so rich!" The way Mr. Pillsbury poured his torrents of rebuke for such an insult to the colored race and to the audience, was a caution to all haters of truth and humanity. He made one of his best speeches, beginning like a slight tremulous motion of the ground, and ending like the tremendous shock of an earthquake. But though his language was denunciatory, I think he had a good effect; the people say he used strong language, but true. The lecture in Bridgewater on Monday evening was thought by the friends to have been one of the most powerful and conclusive ever made in that town. Long may he live to do battle in the cause of human liberty!

And long may the Liberator and its editor live, to seek out the oppressed, and relieve the miseries of the down-trodden sons of oppression, misery and woe!

Yours for eternal progress, JOPPA.

DISTINGUISHED LECTURERS.

FERRISBURG, Vt., Feb. 24, 1850.

FRIEND GARRISON:

A few days ago, I submitted to your pleasure a short communication from myself, at Montpelier, embracing a sketch of my present tour, in connection with a few thoughts on the anti-slavery enterprise, &c. May I now intrude further on your patience in submitting a few more thoughts for the readers of the Liberator, or professed friends of the anti-slavery cause?

Long have I been under the painful necessity of (honestly, I think) believing that even much of that portion of the people who affect to sympathize very fully with the most thorough-going anti-slavery movements of the day, are not practical sympathizers; for it does appear to me, that the old erroneous idea of leaving other people to do all the talking and labor for the advancement of truth and righteousness, still hangs heavily upon them. 'Tis well, indeed, to let your dear James, affectionately yours,

THEODOB MATHEW.

Mr. James Nagle, Kingstown, county Dublin.

THE REV. DR. SPRATT'S REPLY TO THE APOSTLE OF TEMPERANCE.

CORK, Oct. 1, 1846.

MY DEAR JAMES:

Accept my sincere thanks for your kindness in forwarding to me the Freeman's Journal and Pilot, and for calling my attention to the paragraphs in

which it is asserted that 'I recognize, with the full approval of my friends, the right of the colored race to self-government.'

I am not aware, as yet, what you say in this connection, but I have seen your article, and I am sure that the greatest good has resulted from it, and that those who had been counted worthy to suffer shame for his name, He doeth all things well, but frequently 'his ways are not our ways, nor his thoughts our thoughts.'

Although I had nothing to do with any thing that appeared in the papers, much less with that in the Northern Whig, yet I consider the sense of its words grossly misrepresented. It is manifest that paper did not mean to say that Catholics could do without their pastors in any act of their religion; but that thousands were ready to take the pledge without requiring their presence. Now, let me ask you, Rev. Very Rev. Sir, when do you consult on the propriety of doing so? If it should be declared by competent authority that the administration of the pledge is a spiritual act, and requires the ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction, most respectfully and obediently will I make such a declaration. Or if any prelate tells me not to administer the pledge in his diocese, be assured, Rev. Sir, I will not accept it. With regard to Belfast, I have been solicited by a number of all classes to visit that town. Due notice was given of the meeting; and so far from any opposition being instigated, it received, at least, the silent approbation of all parties. I went there, and returned at my own expense—I would not accept of any shilling from the people. I had nothing to do with medals or cards, so I cannot understand how any one can be jealous of me. I deny in the strongest terms possible, that my friends have not performed on many occasions both in England and Ireland, without soliciting or getting any such jurisdiction?

For the Very Rev. Dr. Spratt, I cherish a sincere friendship, and, until the opposition meetings held by him at Finglass, I attributed his acts to over-zeal for the temperance cause.

In a letter written to the Very Rev. Dr. Coyne, the learned, pious, and beloved pastor of Dundalk, I declared all connection with the movements of the Very Rev. Dr. Spratt, for I considered his visit to Dundalk, not only without the concurrence of the parish priest, but, in opposition to his well known wishes, as a violation of ecclesiastical discipline, and dangerous to the faith of the people, by raising altar against altar.

I cannot conceive why my name has been introduced into these paragraphs in the Freeman and Pilot, as giving my name to the 'Apostle of Temperance.'

On the contrary, I am sure that the friends of Temperance have cause to rejoice; on the contrary, it is to be deplored that the Rev. Dr. Spratt has adopted his present line of conduct.

And long may the Liberator and its editor live, to seek out the oppressed, and relieve the miseries of the down-trodden sons of oppression, misery and woe!

Yours for eternal progress, JOPPA.

JOHN SPRATT.

Carmelite Convent, Dublin, Oct. 9, 1846.

GOVERNMENT AND THE SWORD.

EXPOSITION OF THE 13TH CHAPTER OF ROMANS.

FROM AN EXCELLENT WORK RECENTLY PUBLISHED AT OBERLIN, OHIO, ENTITLED 'THE BIBLE AGAINST WAR, BY OMARS DEESNER.' [CONTINUED.]

'THE POWERS THAT BE ARE ORDAINED OF GOD.'

THIS IS IT, IS IT SAID.

'GOD HATH APPOINTED HUMAN GOVERNMENTS AS A PART OF THE MORAL GOVERNMENT OF GOD, AND AS SUCH, THEY ARE TO BE SUSTAINED BY CHRISTIANS, WHETHER FORMED IN A MONARCHY, A REPUBLIC, OR A DEMOCRACY.'

'THEY ARE TO BE SUSTAINED, NOT FOR THEMSELVES, BUT FOR THE GOOD OF ALL MEN.'

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